1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Lakemba, but sooner or later some nobleman would come from abroad, see it, and beg for it. The nobles of Lakemba had each his own big canoe which he provided for himself and which had no name.

Drums

Drums (*lali*) are hewn out of solid trunks of greenheart of India. Most of them come from Namuka. In shape, they suggest a short, pot-bellied, very high canoe cut off at both ends. They are placed on logs to give more resonance, and are beaten on the outer rim with two round mallets about a foot long by one or two drummers.

Big state drums (*lali vakaturanga*) had names; thus one was called *A i rongorongo i valu*, or rumor of war. It was not the custom, as in some parts of Viti Levu, to give the drum the name of a certain person or hold a festival in its honor.

Formerly drums were beaten for war and other occasions, using different rythms. Now these rythms are used for other purposes, calling a meeting together, children to school, adults to a dance, to statute labor, to church, or to a funeral.

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIES

Bark Cloth

The paper mulberry tree, of which bark cloth is made from the inner bark, is planted. It is called *masi*, and bark cloth is also called *masi*.

The men slit the tree downwards, remove the bark as a whole, and hand it over to the women. Two "leaves" are called *ngaho*; ten *ngaho* make one *tekau*. The women soak the bark in water for one morning, if it is small, but leave it overnight if it is a large piece. Then they scrape off the outer bark with shells and roll up the strips of inner bark to keep. The process as witnessed was as follows:

When a woman wishes to beat out the bark, she soaks the strips and beats them on a heavy flat log called *ndundua*. The mallet used is heavy with four sides, two or three of which are grooved lengthwise. The strip is wet, beaten out to the required breadth with the grooved side of the mallet, folded, beaten again, folded a second time, and finished off by beating with the smooth side of the mallet. The rough ends are then cut off. The folds are smoothed out with the hand and the pieces dried in the sun. These strips are called *tutu* if required to paste together into sheets (*ngatu*); if used as they are they are simply called *masi*. Formerly single pieces were used as loin cloths, now as kilts or scarfs on special occasions as at circumcision. Single pieces are sometimes beaten out very thin, giving them a glossy appearance, and were formerly thus used as turbans.

Single pieces are sometimes smoked; first oil scented with *mamba* fruit is applied; then a shallow hole is made in the ground, planted about with four sticks, round which some twenty or forty pieces of bark-cloth are placed, and smoked with the roots

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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f *Dracaena*, producing a fine brown color. Cloth so colored was used for turbans (*i sala*).

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Patterns consisting of conventional leaves, stars, and so forth, are sometimes scattered on fine white bark cloth, *masi tutuki*. The tapa is stencilled with patterns placed so close as to make the whole appear as a white on black design—the large patterns are called "flower prints" (*i tutuki se ni kathu*), the small ones, or reed prints (*i ngasangasau*). Tapa thus decorated is used for turbans or hung on the wall-plate; some of it also is smoked.

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Some is painted with a liquid obtained from the reddish bark of the *tea* and the root of the *ngandoa;* the two may be mixed together. The mangrove root, which is darker, is used in the Southern Islands. The men bring in the wood, which the women scrape with shells (*kai nding; kuku*) or bits of tin, then shred it, saturate it with water, and stuff it into a long sack made of matting of strips of *vau;* as they fill the sack they wind coir string round it. At both ends of the sack is a rude rope of *vau;* by means of these one end is hung on a tree, and a stick is passed through a loop at the other end; a woman takes hold of each end of the stick and the two walk round and round, twisting the sack and squeezing out the red juice.

For stencils the dye is boiled until it becomes gluey and very dark brown; it is then mixed with lamp-black and a red earth (*umea*), probably ocher. The lamp black is obtained by burning candle-nut in a confined space so that all the soot is collected. The ocher is found only in the island of Komo; it is moistened, kneeded into a mass and dried. It is used by the Komo people as their manufactured produce (*i yau*). When required for use the block is scraped. The stencils are cut out of banana or *Pandanus* leaves laid on the piece of cloth to be ornamented. A small pad of bark cloth is dipped in the dye, dabbed first on the lamp black, then on the red ocher to thicken the stuff, then rubbed on the stencil, which is applied to the cloth.

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The patterns consist of designs in rows separated by lines varying in number which are called frames (*i wanggani*); frames appropriate to various patterns are named for them. These frames are stencilled on first, and as there is a certain order of patterns so there must be a certain order of frames. (See Pl. IV, *A*.)

In Plate IV, *B* is shown a piece of tapa with the frames filled in.

Many patterns are formed by placing the same stencil in different positions or by using two stencils. Thus *kamiki* (Pl. IV, *B*, 3 and 11) appears first as two parallel lines; the same stencil is then laid crosswise, thus cutting up the lines into two rows of squares. Then another stencil plate is taken with a plain isosceles rectangular triangle, and is used to blot out half of each square (Pl. IV, *C*). The *sivo* is produced with one long isosceles triangle and one small square.

Certain rules are followed: the "frame of the hatching" (*mbika*) and "dripping water" cannot be interchanged; the Tahitian may not be on the outside, nor Kalinisei's on the inside; *kamiki* has a fixed place. This arrangement is designed as a border for a large sheet of Fijian bark cloth

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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required for the beef, tins of biscuits, sugar, tobacco, kava, and other things for their use.

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In the workshop there is a large convex board on which the patterns (*kupeti*) are made as follows:

String made of *vau* is wound round the end of a strip of mangrove; another strip is placed next to the first and the string wound once round, and so on; then the string is wound again round each strip but lower down, and so on until a kind of grating is made on which screwpine leaves are fixed, the result being a kind of card (*i vaka mata*). The designs are made by laying bits of ekels[18] on the card according to the desired figure and sewing them on with coconut fiber, the whole is then smeared with the dye (*kesa*) used for bark cloth; this acts as a glue. The designs are generally called birds, or animals (*manumanu*). Whereas stencils are geometrical, these plates are naturalistic.

In addition to those illustrated in figure 11, the following names of applique patterns for tapa were obtained from Mbau: centipede, pipi fruit, *sesea* fruit, *kusi*, a bird; and from Tonga bats hanging from a tree.

Each worker brings her own pieces of bark cloth. The women sit on either side of the board provided with pots of raw dye, and with boiled manioc for glue. Two elderly ladies (*maraina ndina*) are appointed to deal out the pieces to the workers; their title is *vakataututu*.

First they lay a long broad piece of bark cloth along the board, on which no rubbings are made, but lines are carefully drawn across it at intervals; this piece is called *tapa mua*, front border. A second piece is stuck alongside the first with manioc; the women dip their pads of bark cloth into the raw dye and take a rubbing on this piece; but not at the ends, which are merely marked with a number; these ends are called *tapa*. This second piece is then smeared with manioc and short pieces are laid across it along the whole of its length and rubbed. Then the longitudinal piece is shifted and another piece is laid on the board overlapping; it is rubbed, and smeared with manioc; the transverse pieces are stuck down upon it and rubbed; and so it goes on, each new long piece being numbered at the end. The long pieces are called *laulalo* (Tongan, the leaf below), and the transverse ones *laulunga* (the leaf above). It is the task of the dealers to sort out the leaves properly. A patch is called *i mono*, a Tongan word for which the Lauan is *i potani*.

The work proceeds gaily and noisily, the workers chatting away. Sometimes they will strike up snatches of Tongan dances. Kava is made and served at intervals. Now tea has replaced the *hoho* pudding which formerly was provided.

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The work is measured thus: the length of the board is one *lalanga;* each *lalanga* therefore repeats the whole set of design; ten *lalanga* forms one *lau;* ten *lau*, one *lautefui*—all Tongan words.

On the next day, if the weather is fine, the sheets are put out to dry. One or two women draw black lines across with boiled dye to mark off the *lalanga;* the dye is laid on with ekels. Here and there dark brown discs (*tukisea*) are painted with boiled dye. The sheet must on no account get wet.

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Besides Tongan drapery (*ngatu vakatonga*) there is a Fijian drapery (*ngatu vakaviti*) also called *ngatu tasinga*, which may roughly be described

[18] Rib of coconut leaves.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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as Tongan drapery with a black stencilled border, but the technique of it differs in the following particulars:

The pieces have to be beaten out with care to be like paper, whereas for Tongan drapery they are beaten out roughly; the pieces are called *vakathimba,* not *tutu;* pieces with holes in them or soiled or reddish in color are not admitted as they are in Tongan drapery; to collect enough pieces is therefore a lengthy process; it takes two, three, or four years; different pattern plates are used of a Fijian design. Plate IV show them to be purely geometrical. There is only one thickness, all the pieces running lengthwise; the pieces are not glued together but moistened with fresh water, placed so as to overlap and beaten till they adhere firmly together, a process called *thokothoko;* no black lines are drawn to divide the *lalanga;* in fact there are no *lalanga.* Some specimens have two patterns disposed in checkers; others, two alternating bands of patterns. Dark discs are painted on here and there, but are called *matanisea,* not *tukisea.* When the reddish rubbings are complete the sheet is handed over to an artist to put in a stencilled border called *potu*; some sheets have two borders; others have a third band down the middle; some have as many as four bands, but not in Lakemba. Fijian drapery is a noble thing (*metha vakaturanga*).

Mat Making

Mats are made of *kie* leaves. Mat making is rarely seen in Lakemba as most mats are brought from the Southern Islands. The process is as follows:

The leaves are dried in the sun for about three weeks; then cut with a shell into equal strips which remain attached at one end. The strips are made very fine for the border. The fringe is now made of colored wools, but is still called *kula* after the parrot that used to supply the feathers. Some mats have black strips inserted to form designs, but most are plain.

Fulanga mats are distinguished by their softness and are used for beds. Ono mats are small, rather stiff and made of very narrow strips two or three together with patterns in black. They are called *tambu kaisi* (forbidden to commoners), not that they were actually forbidden, but they were beyond their means.

Oil

Lau is famed for its scented oil, which is made as follows:

Coconut is grated to fill a basket, then baked in hot stones. Perfumes are added. A favorite one, sandalwood (*yasi*), is not found in Lau; the best comes from Mbua. When a piece of sandalwood has been procured, two or three young men will come in of an evening to rasp it. The dust of the sandalwood is mixed with the coconut, along with *mamba* fruit and *langakali* flowers. The mixture is then spread on a sheet of corrugated iron slightly tilted; the sun brings out the oil, which flows down into a bowl. Finally the pulp is squeezed to get out all the oil, which is bottled and corked with a stopper made of a leaf, rolled into a cone.

Tumeric is grated, mixed with water, and allowed to settle. It is then mixed with oil.

In Tumbou and Nasangalau if the sun will not shine when they want to "sun oil," the people sweep the floor of the church and the sun shines.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

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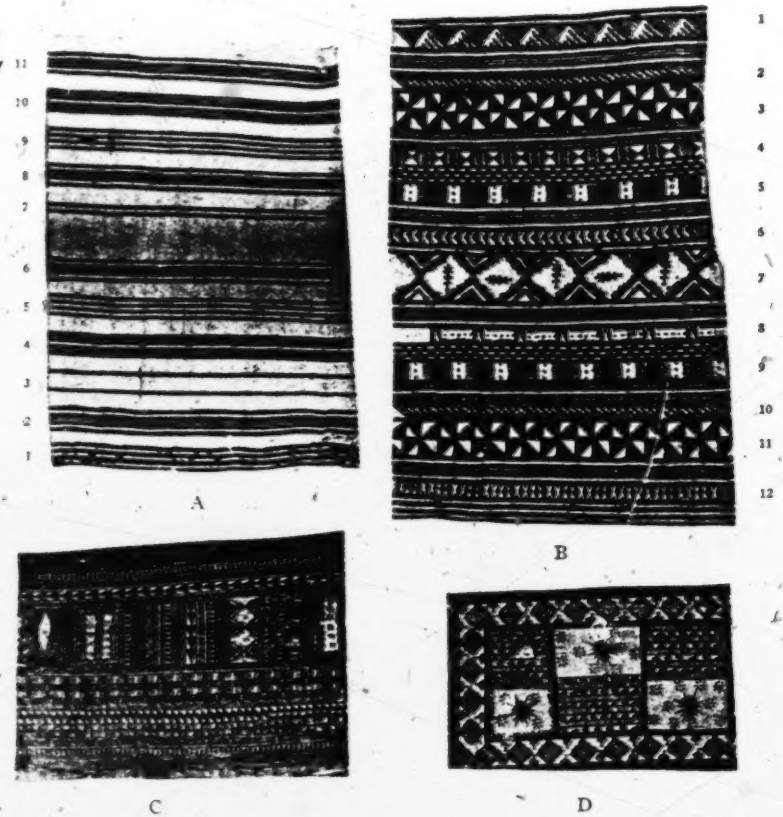

LAUAN BARK CLOTH DESIGNS: *A*, FRAMEWORK; 1, FRAME OF RED, FOUR LINES SO CALLED BECAUSE THE CENTRAL WHITE LINE IS FILLED IN WITH THAT COLOR; 2, FRAME OF MBIKA; 3, NAME UNKNOWN; 4, DRIPPING WATER, WAI KATIRI, PART, I BELIEVE, OF THE BROAD WHITE STRIP IS RED; 5, FRAME OF THE RED; 6, FRAME OF THE MBIKA; 7, WITH THE WIDE SPACE BELOW FORMS THE CENTER OF THE DESIGN; THE OTHER BARS ARE REPETITIONS OF THOSE BELOW; *B*, FRAMEWORK FILLED WITH DESIGNS, 1, VAKALINISEI, KALINESEI'S STYLE; 2, VEIMBALEYAKI, FALLING APART; 3, KAMIKI, FALLING APART; 4, KUMETE NDRUA, DOUBLE KAVA BOWL; 5, VAKATAITI, TAHITIAN STYLE, 6, VATHU NI TAURUKU, BROW OF THE CAVE; 7, VETAU (TONGAN, FETAU, NAME OF A TREE), IN CENTER A DESIGN SOMETIMES CALLED PAWPAW FLOWER, THE BLACK TRIANGLES BETWEEN THE TWO VETAU ALTERNATELY LEFT BLANK AND PAINTED RED; *C*, *D*, STENCILLED DESIGNS ON BARK CLOTH.

[End Plate 4]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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outer garment as a gift to the groom's relatives, and, wearing her kilt of Fijian tapa, she returned to her house.

The exchange of similar gifts was repeated five times, but after the first exchange the gifts were carried by three assistants plus groom or bride, the groom helping to carry his gifts, the bride hers.

The groom left six mats and six ceremonial outer garments of tapa at the bride's house; and she left one piece of Tongan barkcloth, five mats, and six ceremonial outer garments of barkcloth at his house. The gifts left at the groom's house had been provided by the bride's relatives, and, after the affinal exchange, were divided among the groom's relatives who had contributed to the collection of property for the relatives of the bride. The return gifts were divided according to the share each relative had contributed. The gifts presented to the bride's clan were later sent to Vatoa to be distributed among her relatives in the same way. The young couple received no share of the property. The mats presented by the groom were made on Fulanga, a mat-making island, but his tapa came from Namuka because no tapa is made on Fulanga. All the property presented by the girl came from Vatoa where both tapa and mats are made.

The ceremonial exchange was followed by the sharing of the wedding feast (*mangitchi ni vakawatchi* or *mangitchi ni vakamau*). Coconut leaves were spread on the ground about midway between the house of the groom and that of the bride, and on the leaves were placed breadfruit, pumpkin, manioc pudding steamed in the earth oven, and fish boiled with greens. The feast was surrounded by a circle of 50 empty baskets, one for each household attending the wedding. It was divided by five youths who were directed by an elder of the groom's clan. The filled baskets were carried to the households in the village and to the visiting canoes beached along the shore of the lagoon. The villagers ate quickly in casual household groups or departed for home with their full baskets.

In the evening the close relatives from both sides assembled in the groom's house for the "eating together" feast (*mangitchi ni kana vata*), which symbolized the marriage. Each side provided one basket of food. The sister of the bride took one mouthful of food from the bride's basket in her fingers and fed it to the groom. The sister of the groom took one mouthful of food from the groom's basket and fed it to the bride. Then the baskets of food were exchanged between the intermarrying clans. The married couple removed their outer barkcloth garments which were exchanged by their clans. The "eating together" feast ended the marriage ceremonies at Naivindamu.

Informants say, however, that usually on the same evening the relatives from both sides meet to drink kava and dance in the groom's house, a festive occasion called wedding night (*mbongi marau*). Late in the evening all the

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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type of spear, called *tavaiongea* (cut on Ongea) was made on Ongea of *mbau* barbed with points of greenheart. The following description of a *tavaiongea* spear, formerly belonging to the chief of Fulanga, was obtained from an informant in Muanaithake.

> The shaft of the spear, of greenheart or *mbau* wood, was about 4 meters long. It had two very fine, strong points each about 15 cm. long, made of the tail of the *tui* fish. They were fitted to the wooden point of the spear shaft and tied securely with very fine black sennit (*mangimangi matai lalai ai lava ni moto*), which was wrapped around the spear from the pointed end to the middle of the shaft. Above the points, secured to the shaft in the sennit, were six sharp barbs made of the same wood as the spear.

Ongea men say, however, that the *tavaiongea* did not have a point of bone.

None of the old men questioned had seen a bow and arrow, but they had heard that the bow was formerly made of mangrove, *moli* (trees of the *Citrus* group of Rutaceae), or *mbau* and tied with sennit. The arrow was made of a single piece of *mbau* or greenheart.

Exact information regarding the sling could not be obtained. Slingstones were unworked. No slingstones of baked clay were found.

Baskets

Baskets (*kato*) are made of plaited coconut leaflets. The most common type is the *kato mbolambola* made and used mainly by men for carrying raw and cooked food. The type is common in western Polynesia. It is called *'ato fili tasi* in Samoa and has been described by Buck (2, pp. 189-194, figs. 97-99, pls. 12, *B* and 13, *A-D*). Other coconut-leaf baskets made by men are the *kato musu* and the *kato vuni* used as food containers.

WOMEN'S CRAFTS

Barkcloth

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CRAFT

The distribution of tapa making in Lau depends on the quality of the local paper mulberry and on the presence of tapa making specialists, women who belong to certain clans and hand down their art and tools to their daughters. Paper mulberry is found on every island, but the best quality for making tapa is grown only on Namuka and Mothe, the tapa making centers of southern Lau. However, of the six islands studied, tapa is made also on the island of Kambara.

Southern Lau and Lakemba are known for the type of tapa made into long sheets, called *ngatu*. This is an acceptable gift in any presentation ceremony and especially in demand as tribute to the high chief at Lakemba. It is highly prized throughout Fiji. Barkcloth in Lau is made into sheets according to two methods which have been called in this study the Fijian and

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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287 the Tongan methods. On Namuka and Mothe practically all the women make tapa sheets by the Tongan method. Only a few Mothe women and only two Namuka women, Vika of Nggalitoka clan and Penina of Nawatchia clan, use the Fijian method. Vika learned the art from her mother and Penina learned it from a woman of the Valakevoro clan of Undu, Kambara. On Kambara sheet tapa is made only by women born into the Valakevoro clan, Undu, who hand down the art to their daughters. Joana, the oldest living Valakevoro woman, says the technique was taught the women of the clan by Losalini Popua, a Tongan woman who married Luke Wanggavothe of Valakevoro. Since the Valakevoro specialists all live either in Undu or Nggalinggali in east Kambara, women of the west side of the island take strips of prepared inner bark to Undu where they make them up into sheets with the help of tapa making specialists.

Kalo of Fulanga says that when she was a child the Fulangan women made tapa sheets according to the Tongan method. Barkcloth is not made on Fulanga today.

ORGANIZATION OF THE WORK

287 561 [438] Tapa sheets are exported from Namuka and Mothe to neighboring islands and to Lakemba, and the tapa makers of these two islands are organized by age groups into three companies (*kompani*) consisting of old women, middle-aged women and young women. On Namuka these groups are called Malumalungu, Veinggaravi and Tovolea, respectively; on Mothe they are called Malumalungu, Ruve, and Komete. The Komete group is divided into two parts, the young women from Nasau village and those from Korotolu. On Namuka all three companies are under one woman, Apikale, the wife of the district headman of Kambara. She is called *liuliu*. The companies receive her permission before filling orders for tapa sheets to be exported. The three companies have a special house in which they work on the edge of the village. Informants on Namuka say that the tapa makers were organized by the district headman and his wife a few years ago after they had returned from a visit to Tonga. The tapa makers on Kambara are not organized.

THE FIJIAN METHOD

287 Only the finest types of paper mulberry are used in the making of tapa by the Fijian method. Fijian sheet tapa from the types of paper mulberry called *masi ntchina* and *ndrauthoko* is made only from smooth, light-colored strips of prepared bark (*siku*) of uniform thickness. Torn strips are rejected. The first step in the somewhat complicated process is to remove the entire bark from the trunk of the paper mulberry by splitting it lengthwise, freeing the lower end with the teeth and pulling it off, a process called *ndrundru*. The

2: Thompson E-5-(1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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long strip of bark, about 7 cm. wide is then rolled (*vakaveveu*) into a coil (*vakavivi*) inside out. The inner bark (*vanggangga*) is peeled from the outer bark (*kulina*) by separating the two at the lower end with a shell or knife and carefully pulling and cutting them apart, a process called *vothi*. The inner bark is then placed on a piece of bamboo and scraped (*kari*) with a *mulo* shell in order to clean and whiten it. The strips of bark are dried for about a day in the sun, a process called *singani*. In this dried state they may be kept indefinitely, but they keep best if wrapped in *mbekambeka* mats. They are stored on the beams of dwelling houses.

The next step is to beat out the bark, a process called *samusamu*. The dried inner bark is soaked (*toni*) in salt water for a day or it is rolled and soaked in fresh water in a wooden bowl (*kumete vakalofau*). It is then called *vue*. The *vue* is taken to a kitchen hut and beaten on a tapa board (*ndundua*) with a tapa mallet (*ike*). The tapa boards on Namuka are composed of *mbolavatu* or *mbuambua* wood; those on Mothe are composed of *tavola, mbuambwa*, and *ndawa* wood obtained locally, and of *tavo* or *mbolavatu* wood imported from Fulanga, Ongea, Yangasa, or Namuka. On Kambara the tapa boards are of *yake*. The four-sided mallet of *thau* wood varies in size but not in shape. Two or three sides are incised with four or five deep grooves, the others left smooth. (Tapa board and beater are made in Lau by men.) The bark is beaten with the grooved sides first, then with the smooth side to eradicate watermarks. During the beating process the width of the bark increases to from 60 cm. to 1 meter. The strips are hung in the house to dry or spread out in the sun, the edges weighted with pebbles. The dry strips (*siku*) are now ready to be made into one of the following types of barkcloth: *i sala, masi tutuki, masi kuvui, masi vakarerenga*, or Fijian sheet tapa (*ngatu vaka Viti*).

I sala is made of a single strip of one thickness, beaten out thin. The edges are usually cut into a fringe (*tatavu*). This type of tapa is the natural cream color of the inner bark. *I sala* is often soaked in coconut oil before being used. It is worn on ceremonial occasions and was formerly used for turbans worn by chiefs.

Masi kuvui (smoked tapa) is made of two strips fitted together into one thickness. It is folded and soaked in coconut oil in a wooden bowl. A wooden tripod is erected over a fire of green sugar-cane and ti leaves. Several pieces of oiled *masi* are placed on the tripod, covered with mats, and smoked to a golden brown color. *Masi kuvui* is occasionally worn at ceremonies.

Masi vakarerenga is made of a strip of *masi* soaked in oil mixed with powdered mangrove root and dried indoors. The resulting burnt orange tapa is used on ceremonial occasions, such as weddings, as a covering for the body or as streamers for wreaths.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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287 531 *Masi tutuki* usually consists of two or more lengths of tapa, two thicknesses each. It is the width of the original strips (60 cm. to 1 meter) and is frequently several meters long. The edges are often cut into a fringe. It is decorated with a stenciled design in which the whole surface is either treated with a single circular unit called *vutu*, repeated in black on a field of white and edged with a border of black and brown geometric designs, or is divided by longitudinal lines into bands filled in with geometric designs in black and red brown. *Masi tutuki* is worn on ceremonial occasions and hung along the lower tie beams of a house as a wall decoration.

287 531 386 The design unit used for stenciling is made by folding the leaf of the banana, *vutu*, or pandanus and cutting it in such a way that it opens out into the desired unit. The open leaf is then spread on the surface of the barkcloth as a stencil and a piece of tapa dipped in dye is daubed over it. A relatively small number of design units are repeated and recombined according to one general pattern in most of the stencil work. Each design area and each unit is named (fig. 16).

The red-brown dye, called *kesa*, used for stencils and rubbings on tapa, is made by one of the following recipes.

824 (1) The inner bark of the mangrove and the *ngandoa* are soaked in water in a wooden bowl for two days, the water is poured off, the bark is beaten with a stone pounder on a stone slab, water is added, and the mixture is strained and boiled. (2) The inner bark of the *kesawai* or *yasiyasi* (*Eugenia*) is scraped, strained, and boiled. (3) The inner bark of the *sikethi* is treated in the same fashion. All three recipes are used on Namuka but the Namukan women say the first two are the best. On Kambara, where the mangrove is absent, only *ngandoa* is used.

438 Black dye is made by boiling brown *kesa* dye for several hours. It is also produced by mixing brown *kesa*, soot, and red ochre (*umea*) imported from Komo.

287 The steps in tapa making described above can be carried out by one woman working alone. The process of joining strips into large sheets requires the cooperation of many women. According to the Fijian method the strips are joined by the felting process. I witnessed the felting process on Mothe where 14 women from all three companies were making a sheet of Fijian sheet tapa to be presented as tribute (called *ngatu na ka vanua*) to the high chief.

Tapa boards and old dugouts were placed end to end, to form a long tapa board. The women, each with a mallet, sat in a row along one side of and facing the board. Four damp, oblong strips were fitted together with parallel grain, to form one piece of four thicknesses. Twenty such units, of four thicknesses each, were passed out by the leader. The women spread them out lengthwise along the board and fitted them end to end. At the seam the piece consisted of eight thicknesses dovetailed with four thicknesses in the center, two above and two below. At a signal from the leader the women beat along the seam, the grooved sides of the mallets diagonal to it. The beating was done in unison and could be heard throughout the village. Next, the seams were sprinkled with water

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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from small basins, one for every four or five women, and patted. The long damp piece was then shifted and the whole process repeated several times. The resulting sheet is called *katundrau*. 287

Two joined pieces are called *vesiku*. The next day the *katundrau* was spread on the village ceremonial ground to dry in the sun.

The design for Fijian sheet tapa is a formalized pattern made partly by stencil and partly by rubbing on tablets (p. 199). The surface of the sheet 287 531

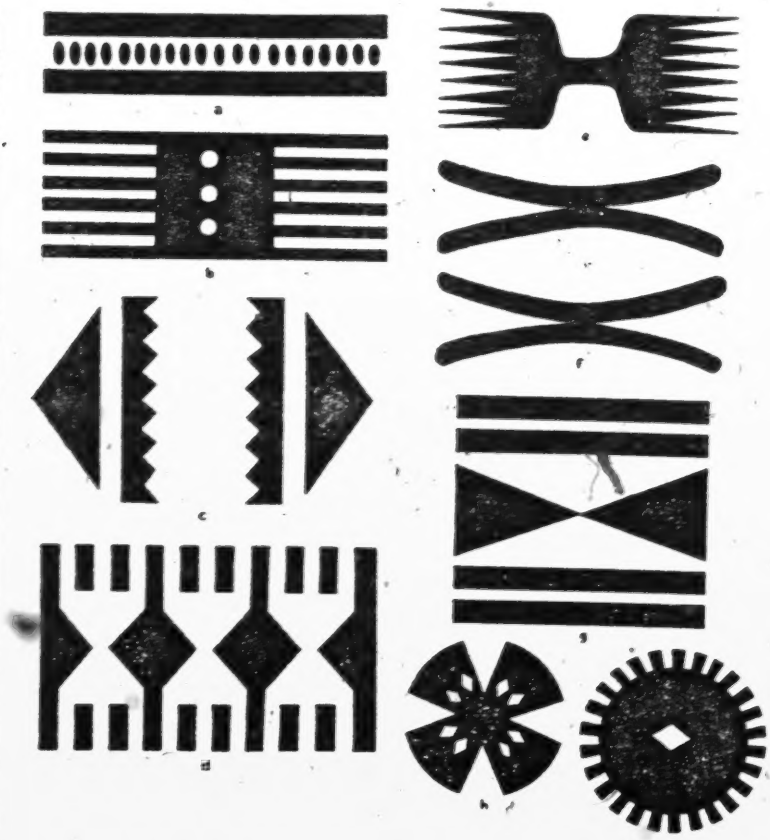

FIGURE 16.—Stencil designs used on tapa: a, *i tranggani* (cut from pandanus leaf); b, *taka taitchi* (banana leaf); c, *vetau* (pandanus leaf); d, e, *i seru* (banana leaf); f, *ndraundrau nggini* (banana leaf); g, *vetau nggangga* (banana leaf); h, i, *vutu* (*vutu* leaf).

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287 531 is covered with rubbings with dye on a tablet except for a deep border along one edge which widens at regular intervals. The border is covered with stenciled geometric design units repeated regularly.

No two designs for Fijian tapa are identical, but each piece shows a unique combination of the same design units within the formal pattern. Vika, of Namuka, an expert in making Fijian sheet tapa, says she never copies another's designs but when she starts working on a sheet the design comes to her and she knows just what to do next.

Unfortunately time did not permit a thorough study of the creative process in connection with Fijian sheet tapa design. Such a study, however, would probably yield valuable results.

287 Fijian sheet tapa is never cut up into pieces. It is used to screen the nuptial bed from the remainder of the house in weddings of rank and to cover a corpse before burial. It was formerly used as a mosquito curtain (*tai namu*). According to the natives the best Fijian sheet tapa is made on Matuku Island.

THE TONGAN METHOD

Tapa made by the Tongan method is coarser than that made by the Fijian method, and for it coarse types of paper mulberry are used. The first steps in the process are the same as those for making tapa by the Fijian method except that the inner bark is not scraped in order to clean and whiten it. The dried coarse strips of prepared inner bark called *tutu*. Tongan sheet tapa (*ngatu vaka Tonga*) consists of a great many strips (*tutu*) joined by pasting (*totou*) into sheets which are frequently 4 meters wide and 75 meters long. The fruit of the *yambia*, boiled, peeled, and soaked in fresh water, is used as the adhesive agent; and the strips are joined only between February and August when the *yambia* is ripe.

287 531 Dye is applied by the method of rubbing over the surface of the barkcloth, which has been placed on thin tablets (*kupetchi*) ornamented with designs in relief. There are several types of tablets.

(1) The *tatau* type consists of long slats of mangrove root, 0.5 cm. in diameter, rolled with hibiscus bark and sewn in designs onto a background of pandanus. Twine is used today instead of hibiscus. This type was formerly made in Vanua Mbalavu and Lakemba. (2) The *sasa* or *tchikinikupetchi* type consists of midribs of coconut leaflets tied with sennit or hibiscus onto a background of pandanus. This type was formerly made in Ono. (3) The *tui* type consists of midribs of coconut leaflets tied with twine onto a background of coconut fiber. It was formerly made in Tonga.

Tablet designs consist of geometric figures and figures taken from nature (fig. 17). Tablets are not made on any of the islands under consideration. 439 They have been imported from Tonga, Ono, Vanua Mbalavu, and Lakemba. They are valuable possessions of individual women, inherited in the maternal

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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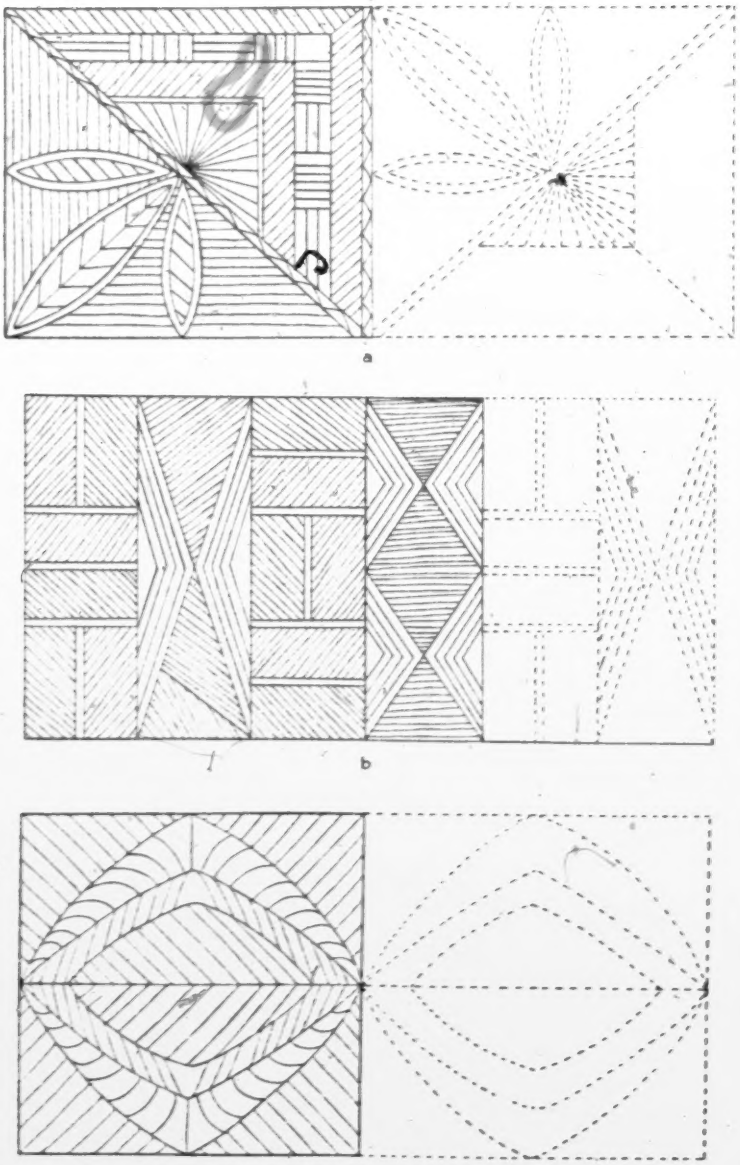


FIGURE 17.—Tablet (*kupetchi*) designs used to make rubbings on tapa: **a**, twisted cord sewn with pandanus strips on banana leaf background, 50 cm. long, 23 cm. wide; **b**, **c**, midrib of coconut leaflet tied with hibiscus strip onto pandanus leaf, 48 cm. long, 24 cm. wide.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

287 531 line, and often used by many women on one island. The tapa makers of Namuka own a series of tablets in common, which were a gift from the wife of the late Ratu Finau. They are kept by the women of Nasoiya clan. According to the old women, tablets were introduced into Lau when the women learned to make barkcloth by the Tongan method. According to Fison (8, p. 162), designs used for tapa sheets in Fiji were formerly carved in relief on wooden tablets.

After a woman has beaten enough strips to make a long sheet of tapa, a day is set when the women of her company or of the village assemble early in the morning to help her join them. A woman who is expert at tapa making is in charge of the work. She is called *vakataututu*. The husband of the woman whose tapa is being joined provides a midday feast (called *i ngga ni kesakesa*) for the helpers.

The tablets are placed on a board or an old inverted dugout. A long strip of tapa consisting of two strips pasted lengthwise at the edges with *yambia* glue, is stretched over the tablets and the surface is rubbed with a piece of tapa dipped in *kesa* dye (p. 196). The surface is then rubbed with *yambia*, and strips are pasted crosswise, so that the piece consists of two thicknesses of inner bark. The crosswise strips are rubbed with *kesa*. The whole piece is shifted and the process and design repeated until all the strips have been joined into one large sheet covered with red brown rubbings. Long sheets of Tongan tapa are marked and measured by lengths called *lalanga*, which correspond to the length of the board or dugout (*papa ni kesakesa*).

The sheets are stretched out on the ground to dry in the sun. When dry, some of the large design units such as circles and isosceles triangles are outlined (*tothe*) with black dye by means of a shell or a piece of broken imported slate. I have seen 30 women working on one sheet at the same time (pl. 2, *C*).

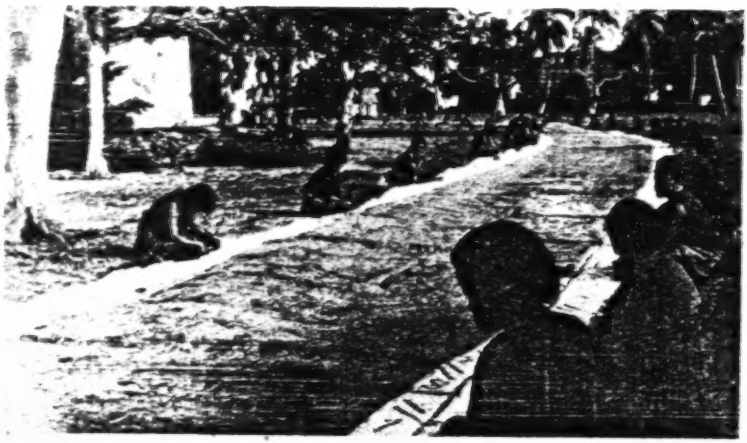
Long sheets of Tongan barkcloth are used in presentations such as tribute to high chiefs, ceremonial exchange, weddings, and deaths. The sheets are presented outstretched and are held along the edges by women. Sheets of Tongan barkcloth are frequently cut into smaller pieces to be worn as a kilt or a wrapping for the whole body to protect it from the mosquitoes or the cold. Tongan barkcloth is also used for bedding and draperies.

Mats

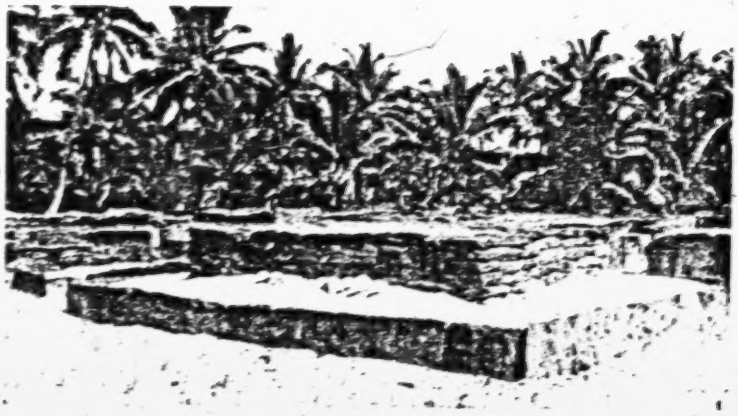
Pandanus-leaf mats

285 Mat (*yambe*) making from pandanus (*kie*) leaves is a specialized industry confined to the women of certain islands in Lau. Among the islands visited pandanus mats are made on Fulanga, Ongea, and Kambara.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara



A



B

A, DEATH RITES FOR HIGH CHIEF OF LAKEMBA. A LONG STRIP OF TAPA (TONGAN *NGATU*) STRETCHING FROM THE CHIEF'S HOUSE TO THE BURIAL MOUND FORMS A CARPET FOR THE FUNERAL PROCESSION. WOMEN IN MOURNING SIT WITH BOWED HEADS ON EITHER SIDE. B, GRAVE OF THE CHIEF OF KAMBARA IN THE CEMETERY AT TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA. THE EARTH MOUND OF RECTANGULAR GROUND PLAN IS SHAPED LIKE A TRUNCATED PYRAMID WITH TWO STONE-FACED STEPS. TEN CONCH SHELLS BLOWN AT THE FUNERAL LIE ON THE FIRST STEP.

[End Plate 1]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

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[252
415]

A

[516]

B

[287
516]

C

A, EARTH OVEN BEING PREPARED BY TWO YOUTHS FOR A WEDDING FEAST AT NAIVINDAMU VILLAGE, FULANGA. IN FOREGROUND ARE BASKETS OF BREADFRUIT, AT RIGHT A WOODEN BOWL (*PAPASIA*) FILLED WITH GRATED MANIOC. B, FULANGA YOUTHS PREPARING FERMENTED MANIOC FOR EARTH OVEN. C, WOMEN OF TOKALAU VILLAGE, KAMBARA, OUTLINING DESIGN ON LARGE PIECE OF TAPA (TONGAS *NGATU*).

[End Plate 2]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

302 Coconut oil is the most important cosmetic in Lau. Strongly scented with fragrant flowers, leaves and bark, it is rubbed after bathing on the legs, arms, breasts and on the hair. It keeps the skin soft in spite of constant exposure to sunlight and salt water, and imparts a sheen to the hair.

Dressing for a festival, the young people pour on oil until their bodies glisten. As they dance in long rows their shining rhythmic bodies look like bronze statues. The pungent scent of oil in a small native hut, however, is almost suffocating. Coconut oil holds an important place in the Lauan art [833] of love, not only because it stimulates the senses by keeping the skin smoothly lustrous and fragrant, but also because it reduces the friction between hot bodies mating in the breathless damp warmth of the tropics.

292 To participate in important ceremonies both men and wo-287 men wear barkcloth. This is a soft, durable, fibrous material [531] made of the inner bark of the paper mulberry. It is elaborately stenciled with bold geometric designs in black and red ochre. Ample quantities of this cloth are wrapped around the hips and gathered at the waist with a band. Wreaths of green leaves, bright flowers, and strips of dyed hibiscus bark complete this striking ceremonial attire, which is a survival from olden times.

272 All important ceremonies are accompanied by drinking of 276 "kava", the narcotic root of the *Piper methysticum*. Kava is the favored native drink of the South Seas. When crushed and mixed with water, kava root produces a mild intoxication which frequently affects the legs rather than the head. Its reaction varies with the individual: on some it acts as a stimulant, on others as a sedative. Curiously enough, the novice can outdo the confirmed kava drinker, for the reaction is increased and accelerated by habit. The preparation and drinking of kava root is always accompanied by a colorful ceremony. The drinkers sit in a circle in which the chief has the place of honor. Opposite the chief sits the kava mixer,

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

585 clans took place, the bride and groom became the central [614] figures.

Out of the house used as the groom's headquarters came four girls, each bearing one corner of a large mat stretched at full length. Just behind them walked a person I took to be the bride, wearing yards and yards of Tongan barkcloth,[15] extending from the armpits almost to the ground and tied around the waist with a piece of pandanus. This festively clad person turned out to be the groom, whom I had failed to recognize in ceremonial attire. His body was oiled, and around his neck he wore an elaborate wreath of leaves and hibiscus bark dyed burnt-orange (with *Morinda citrifolia*). His upstanding hair was bleached rust color. He wore a head ornament consisting of two red and blue pompoms of imported wool, fastened just above the temples to a barkcloth headband.

The procession walked to the bride's house where the mat was placed on a piece of Tongan barkcloth in front of the entrance. The procession walked over it into the house. There the groom left his outer garment as a gift to the bride's relatives, and returned in his *lavalava* of Fijian barkcloth[16] to his headquarters.

Next six girls, carrying an outstretched piece of Tongan barkcloth, emerged from the bride's house. They were followed by the bride, resplendently dressed in a voluminous outer garment of Tongan barkcloth like the groom's. She wore a wreath like his but no ornament in her hair, which was sprinkled with fragrant, powdered sandalwood. The bride and her attendants walked to the groom's headquarters where the barkcloth was placed in front of the entrance. The procession walked over it into the house. In the groom's

[287] [531] [15] Barkcloth made by the Tongan method of joining strips of bark by pasting them together to form long sheets, and ornamented by rubbing the sheets with dye over raised designs.

[16] Barkcloth made by the Fijian method of joining strips of bark by beating together their overlapping edges and ornamented with a stencil.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

the men. This is due to an unequal division of labor between the sexes—since the women no longer produce these craft articles in quantity—and to an unbalanced sex ratio, since the females outnumber the males. Increased production of women's craft articles, by keeping the women from idly sitting about the kitchen houses and gossiping a great deal of the time, would strengthen the morale of the whole community. Under the present organization this could be accomplished by stimulating inter-island communal exchange, which would mean heavier demands upon the women of each clan. Young girls should be encouraged to learn the complicated technic of barkcloth making, and the few women who are specialists in the finest stenciled type (called *ngatu vaka Vitchi*) should be urged to teach their art and to encourage originality in their pupils. The organization of the barkcloth craft into guilds, as on Namuka, Mothe, and Lakemba, should be encouraged on other islands where the paper mulberry is available, such as Kambara.

The women of Namuka are famed throughout Fiji for their barkcloth. They are organized into a barkcloth makers' guild headed by Apikale, wife of Anitelu, the *mbuli Kambara.* She receives orders for barkcloth to be exported, especially to the island of Lakemba, in exchange for other trade articles, and she regulates the work and the output. The guild members are divided into three groups which work together, one for old women, one for middle-aged women, and one for young women. All three groups use the guild barkcloth makers' workhouse on the edge of the village for the parts of the process requiring communal labor.

Most important of all, however, in building up native economy is not only to remove all restrictions, but actively to stimulate inter-island trade based upon the supplementary natural resources and specialized industries of the islands of limestone and those of volcanic formation. The *solevu* type of ceremonial exchange between villages located on islands

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE LAU GROUP, FIJI.

by E. H. Bryan, Jr.

(Whitney South Sea Bird Expedition, July to October, 1924.)

Introduction.

101 [131] The Lau or Eastern Group, of Fiji, consists of about 40 islands or clusters of islets and numerous reefs, extending from S.16° 40' to S. 19° 15' and from 178° 20' W. to 179° 30' W. It constitutes [648] a frontier between Fiji and Tonga, and has in past years been the 144 scene of numerous invasions from the latter group. On several of the islands the Tongan strain is quite noticeable. The majority of 231 the islands are inhabited by an industrious people, who live on 241 262 fish, pigs, fowl, and yams, sweet potatoes, taro, and manioc and 245 bananas, which they raise extensively for local consumption. The main product of the islands is copra which is dried in quantity from the extensive groves of coconut palms. Many of the men are 327 skillful carvers, making attractive yaqona (yang-gona) bowls, combs, clubs, wooden pillows, and canoes. The women weave mats from the 285 leaves of the Pandanus, and beat out the sap wood of the paper 287 824 mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) into a bark cloth called masi, the process being called samusamu.

133 There are three types of islands in Lau, as follows: limestone, volcanic, and a combination of both. Portions of some of the islands are sandstone, but no island is completely made up of this material. The types are so distinctive that they may be identified at a glance.

The limestone islands are exceedingly rough. The material is upraised coral reef. Their surface has been eroded into sharp ridges or hummocks separating deep pot-holes with jagged-faces. The coast line includes deep bays, rugged cliffs and isolated rocks; all typically under-cut at the water's edge. This gives the smaller

[ONGEA ISLANDS]

13 From the latter[1] a good trail leads across the central flat to the
[987] village. The bay on the south side of Ongea Levu is too shallow for vessels larger than small cutters to enter.

317 There is no fresh water other than rainwater which is caught and stored in a cement cistern at the village.

136 No wild animals other than rats, lizards and snakes occur on these islands. There is a large green lizard called "vokai" by the natives, and one (perhaps two) species of gray-brown snakes. The natives report wild goats, but neither they nor their tracks were seen..

361 All the inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in the village
[161] on Ongea Levu, but they cultivate considerable areas on both Levu
247 and Ndriti. The principal products raised are manioc, sweet potato,
245 yams, taro and bananas. The coconut groves are not so extensive as the area of the islands would permit, but they apparently produce sufficient copra to supply the humble wants of the natives.
181 The people are industrious and fairly intelligent despite their
144 isolation. There is a more or less distinct Tongan cast. Wood
322 carving, mat weaving and tapa beating are carried on to some extent,
285 and numbers of canoes are cut in the thick woods. Pigs and a few
287 fowl are raised, and dogs are kept as pets.
231

[1] [i.e.—anchorage on the west side of Ongea Levu. --Analyst]

[FULANGA I.]

312 Water is available only at the villages where rainwater is caught and stored in cement tanks.

13 The limestone hills are thickly covered with the usual lowland forest. The flats on both sides support extensive groves of coconut palms and cultivated areas. Mangrove thickets border the S.W. side of the lagoon.

The animals include birds, rats, lizards and probably snakes, although none of the latter were seen, except the banded water snake.
[231] The natives have domestic fowls, pigs and dogs. Mosquitoes present.

361 There are three small villages on Fulanga. Muanaithake
[161] and Muanaira are close together on the south ocean side. The former has a population of about 200, living in 40 houses; the latter is much smaller, about a dozen houses and 40 inhabitants. Naividamu is situated on the N.W. arm, on the lagoon side. It has a population
487 of 64, living in a dozen huts. The three villages are connected by a good path.

181 The people appear prosperous and fairly industrious. The women
462 catch fish and dive for shell fish and oysters within the lagoon. The
[226] men do the reef fishing and cultivate the fields. Canoe making and
[241] some carving is done, and the women weave mats and beat out masi (tapa).
[312] Some little copra is cut and shipped and the usual crops of sweet
285 [287] potatoes, yams, manioc and bananas are grown, the latter for local
295 consumption only.
241

[p. 16]

13 5. MAMUKA-I-LAU lies about 8 miles N.W. of the Yangasa Cluster.
[361] (Village: S.18° 51', 178° 58' W.)It is rectangular in shape, a little over 4 miles long by 1 broad, and composed of coral limestone. A barrier reef, reduced to a chain of coral heads on the N.W., surrounds the island. On the north side of the island a rough ridge of upraised coral limestone rises abruptly from the sea to a height of 260 feet, and on the S.W. there is a short ridge up to 240 feet high.
[361] The village is located on a large bay facing the south, and another sandy bay is located at the west end. Each contains two small islets. The interior is a flat covered with extensive groves of cocoanut palms and cultivated areas. Along the ridges and at each end is lowland forest. There is a small marsh near the village.

The south bay is shallow and inaccessable. Good anchorage may
[487] be had within the reef off the north side. A trail leads over the ridge from a landing situated half way between the highest peak (260') and a more conspicuous double peak (210'), near a cocoanut grove.
[312] Rainwater is caught and stored at the village.

No land snakes, but water snakes are to be found occasionally on the rough coral beaches. Rats, hermit crabs and lizards are present. Mosquitoes and dragonflies ~~[illegible]~~ numerous.

361 The village is of moderate size, with over 50 houses and a pop-
161 ulation of about 216. The inhabitants are industrious and prosperous
18 cutting a large amount of copra and farming extensive cultivated areas.
295 There is a Chinese store. There is considerable beating of masi (tapa),
291 but very little carving.
177
287
327
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[p. 23]

13 6. MOTHE is a moderate size volcanic island, 18 miles north of the Yangasa cluster and 12 miles N.E. of Namuka-i-Lau. The barrier reef which surrounds it stretches 7 miles to the south-west in a sweeping horn called Napotu, and also encloses a small limestone island, Karoni.

Mothe is 2 1/4 by 2 miles, with smooth, brown, grassy slopes rising to 590 feet in a tree capped peak, Dilli Na Kotu. These slopes are cut by several deep valleys, in which flow small streams of murky water. The beach and valley bottoms are lined with littoral and lowland trees and groves of cocoanut palms. Much of the beach is sandy. There is a wide, flat reef fringing the south and east sides.

Small cutters can enter the lagoon by a passage near the middle of the east side, east by north from Karoni. For larger vessels there is good anchorage (called Na Kuku) off the N.W. end of Mothe (outside the reef).

Besides the grass there is considerable scrub, ferns, and scattered Pandanus and Casuarina trees on the hills. The summit forest tuft consists of lowland trees only, which have worked up the valleys.

Animals, other than birds, include rats, lizards and banded water snakes.

361 There are two villages: Nasau, the larger, on the south point, and Leva or Na Koro a scant half mile up the east coast in a small bay. Both are surrounded by extensive groves of cocoanut palms. 226 There is much fishing, a little cultivation, and some masi beating 241 and mat weaving. Pigs and fowl are raised.

● 282 285 231 Karoni is 2 1/4 miles south south-east from the south point of Mothe. It is a typical rough limestone island, supporting a 13 thick growth of trees. The main island is sub-circular, but a number of small islets complete the circle. The east and south sides

361 [ONEATA I]

[61] certainly more than the reported 25 houses. Nakuiloa is much smaller,
366 with 21 houses and 85 people. There is a store at each village,
199 Chinese at Vainggori, Japanese at Nakuiloa. The people seemed
181 friendly, courteous, generous and sincerely religious. There was a
194 noticeable Tongan element.

241 Quite a little agriculture is carried on by the natives, good corn (maize) being raised in addition to the usual sweet potatoes,
181 yams, manioc, taro, bananas, and pumpkins. The people are prosper-
285 ous and industrious. Some little mat weaving, masi (tapa) beating,
287 and wood carving is done.
372

[p. 29]

361 161 [991] Lakemba has seven native villages, Tumbou being the largest one in Lau, with a population of 283. The others in order as one goes counter-clockwise along the well kept connecting road are:- Wathiwathi, on the east side of the south-jutting peninsula, 130 natives; Waitambu, three quarters of a mile to the east, 76 inhabitants; Nukunuku at the S.E. corner of the island, at the head of a small bay, 70 natives; Yandrana, along the banks of a fair size stream, at the N.E. corner, 187 inhabitants; Vakano, about 2 miles to the N.W., 70 natives; and Nasanggalau, with 150 inhabitants, about a mile to the westward at the mouth of the next stream. The west end of the island, opposite the Wankatalatha anchorage, is privately owned. There is a small store, 423 366 199 run by Chinese in nearly every village, and a large store run by the Lau Traders, Ltd., at Tumbou.

181 439 295 241 287 The inhabitants are thrifty, intelligent and industrious, drying and exporting a large quantity of copra. There are extensive cultivated areas containing yams, sweet potatoes, etc., in the valleys. Considerable masi (tapa) is made.

799 871 Lakemba was the first island in Fiji to be Christianized by British Missionaries (1853). The Provincial School, to which boys from all over Lau are sent, is situated near Tumbou.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

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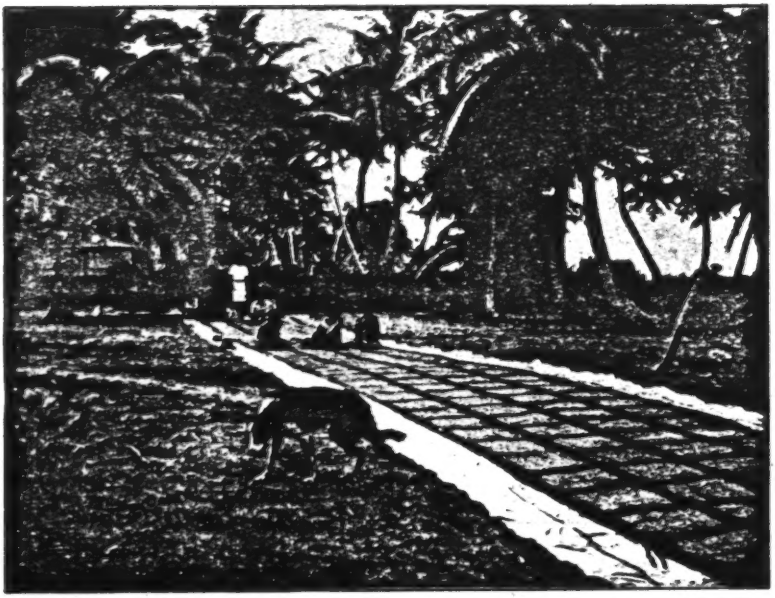

"Designing the brown and black patterns on a huge sheet of white *tappa*."

[FACING P. 124]